

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05

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O 161926Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9510

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 12560

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR FR US

SUBJECT: SECRETARY-GISCARD BILATERAL MAY 27 - TALKING
POINTS

1. THE MOOD

WHEN GISCARD MEETS WITH THE SECRETARY MAY 27, HE
WILL HAVE HAD TIME TO PLACE IN PERSPECTIVE HIS MAJOR
FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES OF THE PAST YEAR. THE MIXED
RESULTS REFLECT GISCARD'S STYLE OF DECISION-MAKING,
WHICH PLACES VERY LITTLE PREMIUM ON OTHER PEOPLE'S COUN-
SEL.

GISCARD'S EFFORT TO GET POLITICAL EUROPE MOVING
AGAIN APPEARS TO HAVE GIVEN UNIFICATION A PSYCHOLOGICAL
BOOST, BUT IT IS STILL DIFFICULT TO SEE WHERE PROGRESS
CAN BE MADE, GIVEN THE STATE OF EUROPE TODAY. THE COL-
LAPSE OF THE ENERGY PREPCON WAS A PERSONAL DISAPPOINT-
MENT TO GISCARD AND CAUSED A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF SHARP
PRESS CRITICISM, WHICH TERMED IT A SETBACK TO HIS
PRESTIGE; BUT FRANCE'S OVERALL OBJECTIVE OF PROJECTING
A FRIENDLY IMAGE TOWARD THE PRODUCERS AND THE REST OF
THE THIRD WORLD APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN FULFILLED. GIS-
CARD'S FAILURE TO ACHIEVE NEGOTIATIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM,
DESPITE AN INTENSIVE DIPLOMATIC EFFORT AND DESPITE

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HANOI'S PROMISE THAT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE POSSIBLE IF

THIEU RESIGNED, HAS GONE VIRTUALLY UNNOTICED IN THE FRENCH PRESS, BUT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY IS HUMILIATED AT THE WAY THEIR PRESIDENT WAS DUPED.

IN ADDITION, GISCARD UNLEASHED A STORM OF PUBLIC PROTEST FROM ALL ELEMENTS OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM BY ANNOUNCING ON MAY 9 THE SUPPRESSION OF V-E DAY CELEBRATIONS IN FAVOR OF A NEW "EUROPEAN UNIFICATION DAY." MOREOVER, NO SMALL NUMBER OF PEOPLE ARE CRITICAL OF GISCARD FOR ASSIGNING FOREIGN MINISTER SAUVAGNARGUES RATHER THAN HIMSELF OR PRIME MINISTER CHIRAC TO REPRESENT FRANCE AT THE NATO SUMMIT DURING THIS PERIOD OF CHALLENGE TO WESTERN COHESIVENESS. (N.B. WHILE THE ANNOUNCED DECISION TO SEND SAUVAGNARGUES REMAINS UNCHANGED, EMBASSY UNDERSTANDS ISSUE IS STILL BEING HOTLY DEBATED WITHIN GOF.)

IN GENERAL, GISCARD'S INITIATIVES OVER THE PAST YEAR DEMONSTRATE THAT FRANCE'S CAPABILITY OF INFLUENCING MAJOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IS LIMITED. FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL REASONS, EVEN GISCARD'S DOMESTIC ENEMIES DO NOT LIKE TO ADMIT THIS, AND THE PRESIDENT'S POPULARITY WITH THE FRENCH ELECTORATE CONTINUES TO RISE, PARTLY BECAUSE HE KEEPS FRANCE IN THE INTERNATIONAL HEADLINES. WE SUSPECT, HOWEVER, THAT GISCARD'S VIEW OF HIS AND FRANCE'S INTERNATIONAL ROLE HAS BECOME MORE MATURE, MORE REALISTIC AND LESS BRASH THAN IT HAS BEEN SINCE MAY 1974. WE SUSPECT HE WILL BE SOMEWHAT GUN-SHY ABOUT MAJOR NEW INITIATIVES AT THIS TIME, AND IS LIKELY TO BE MORE INCLINED TO SEEK ADVICE BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD THAN IN THE PAST.

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FOR THE BILATERAL ON MAY 27, GISCARD WILL PROBABLY BE MOST INTERESTED IN ENGAGING THE SECRETARY IN CONVERSATION ON (A) THE OUTLOOK FOR US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS AND U.S. RELIABILITY IN THE WAKE OF VIETNAM, (B) THE NEXT STEP IN THE EMBRYONIC PRODUCER-CONSUMER DIALOGUE, (C) THE CHANCESS FOR A SUCCESSFUL WIND-UP OF CSCE STAGE TWO, (D) PROSPECTS FOR MOVEMENT IN THE MIDEAST NEGOTIATIONS, AND (E) HOW WESTERN INTERESTS MIGHT STILL BE SALVAGED IN INDOCHINA.

TALKING POINTS FOLLOW:

A. UNITED STATES, EUROPE, AND THE U.S. COMMITMENT

BACKGROUND: TOP GOF LEADERS HAVE TOLD TRANSITING CODEL'S THAT FRANCE DOES NOT QUESTION THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO EUROPEAN DEFENSE DESPITE VIETNAM. NEVERTHELESS, SOME IN FRANCE ARE QUESTIONING THE WILL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO UPHOLD THIS COMMITMENT. OTHERS FEAR THAT U.S. DECISIVENESS IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS WILL BE WEAKENED BY EXECUTIVE/LEGISLATIVE DISCORD IN WASHINGTON. INTERTWINED WITH THESE WORRIES IS THE CONCERN OF SERIOUS PROPONENTS OF EUROPEAN UNITY (INCLUDING GISCARD) THAT A WAY IS STILL TO BE FOUND TO MOVE TOWARD A MORE UNITED EUROPE WITHOUT GENERATING HOSTILITY FROM THE U.S.

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TALKING POINTS:

- SAY THAT AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE CONGRESS WILL SUPPORT NATO AS THE CORNERSTONE OF WESTERN DEFENSE, SO LONG AS IT IS EVIDENT THAT OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES ARE CARRYING THEIR FAIR SHARE OF THE BURDEN OF THE COMMON DEFENSE.
- NOTE OUR SATISFACTION WITH FRANCE'S CONTRIBUTION TO WESTERN DEFENSE, ALTHOUGH WE WOULD WELCOME AN ENHANCED FRENCH CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITY.
- STRESS THAT CLOSER PRACTICAL COOPERATION

BETWEEN FRANCE AND NATO WOULD REINFORCE
EUROPEAN DEFENSE, STRENGTHEN DETERRENCE AND
HELP AMERICANS UNDERSTAND THAT THE ALLIES ARE
CONTRIBUTING SIGNIFICANTLY TO MUTUAL DEFENSE.

-- RECALL OUR THREE DECADES OF SUPPORT FOR EURO-
PEAN UNITY.

-- UNDERLINE THAT WE STILL SUPPORT A UNITED
EUROPE CONSTRUCTED ON THE FOUNDATION OF AT-
LANTIC COOPERATION, BUT THAT A EUROPE BUILT
IN OPPOSITION TO THE U.S. IS NEITHER IN THE
INTEREST OF EUROPE NOR OF THE U.S.

-- PROBE GISCARD'S VIEWS ON LIKELY MOVEMENT
TOWARD EUROPEAN UNITY ONCE THE UK REFERENDUM
IS OUT OF THE WAY.

B. PRODUCER-CONSUMER DIALOGUE

GISCARD REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE CONCEPT OF A
PRODUCER-CONSUMER DIALOGUE ON ENERGY BUT HAS CONCLUDED
THAT SUCH A DIALOGUE CAN ONLY PROGRESS IF THE INDUSTRI-
ALIZED COUNTRIES AGREE TO DISCUSS RAW MATERIALS QUES-
TIONS IN SOME MANNER. WE HAVE NO INDICATIONS AS YET,
HOWEVER, THAT THE FRENCH PLAN ANY INITIATIVES IN THIS
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RESPECT DURING THE OECD MEETINGS OR ELSEWHERE, OR THAT
THEY HAVE ELABORATED ANY IDEAS AS TO HOW TO TREAT THE
ENERGY-RAW MATERIALS LINK. FOREIGN MINISTRY SOURCES
HAVE SO FAR TAKEN A VERY CAUTIOUS LINE TOWARD A REOPEN-
ING OF THE DIALOGUE, STRESSING THE NEED FOR CAREFUL
PREPARATIONS. WE EXPECT THAT GISCARD WILL BE INTERESTED
TO HEAR MORE FULLY THE SECRETARY'S IDEAS ON HOW RAW
MATERIALS QUESTIONS CAN BE NEGOTIATED, BUT THAT HE WILL
BE SKEPTICAL TOWARD PROPOSALS THAT SUCH DISCUSSIONS
COULD BE CONDUCTED ENTIRELY SEPARATELY FROM AN ENERGY
PRODUCER-CONSUMER NEGOTIATION.

C. CSCE

BACKGROUND: GISCARD WILL CLEARLY BE INTERESTED
IN THE SECRETARY'S VIEWS REGARDING TACTICS AND PACE OF
FINAL PHASES OF STAGE II NEGOTIATIONS, PARTICULARLY IN

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ACTION EUR-08

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O 161926Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9512

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LIGHT OF THE SECRETARY'S JUST-CONCLUDED DISCUSSIONS WITH GROMYKO. FRANCE'S OWN RECENT POSITIONS IN THIS REGARD HAVE BEEN AMBIVALENT. ON ONE HAND, PARTICULARLY SINCE CHIRAC'S VISIT TO MOSCOW, FRENCH HAVE BEEN IN THE VANGUARD OF THOSE SEEKING TO MINIMIZE FRICTION WITH SOVIETS ON BASKET III ISSUES AND TO HURRY PACE IN THESE FIELDS. ON OTHER HAND, THE FRENCH HAVE PLAYED EXCESSIVELY CAUTIOUS ROLE ON QRR'S AND ARE EVIDENTLY BENT ON PUTTING UP STIFF FIGHT EVEN AGAINST MINOR COMPROMISES ON FOLLOW-UP. RE CBM'S, FRENCH ARE FAITHFULLY FOLLOWING ALLIED CONSENSUS. IN GENERAL, GOF IS DISAPPOINTED BY SOVIET FAILURE TO LIVE UP TO PROMISE OF RAMBOUILLET, BUT ON OTHER HAND IS RELUCTANT TO BEAR ONUS FOR DELAY.

TALKING POINTS:

-- EXCHANGE THOUGHTS WITH GISCARD ON FINAL PHASES OF STAGE II, AS WELL AS ON TIMING AND GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR HELSINKI SUMMIT;

-- ASSURE GISCARD THAT, WHILE WE ARE GENERALLY FOLLOWING EC-9 ON FOLLOW-UP, WE TOO WOULD NOT FAVOR OVERLY AMBITIOUS FOLLOW-UP ARRANGEMENTS, ALTHOUGH SOME COMPROMISES WILL OBVIOUSLY BE REQUIRED;

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-- EXPRESS STRONG HOPE THAT CONTINUING ALLIED
TACTICAL DIFFERENCES ON QRR'S CAN BE QUICKLY
OVERCOME;

-- ASK GISCARD TO GIVE US, IF POSSIBLE, SOMEWHAT
GREATER SUPPORT ON KEY BASKET III ISSUES IN
UPCOMING CRUNCH, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO
JOURNALISM.

D. MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS

BACKGROUND: THE PRIMARY FRENCH OBJECTIVE IS
TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF NEGOTIATIONS, AND THE GOF
ANALYSIS IS THAT A RESUMED MEPC AT GENEVA PROVIDES THE
ONLY VIABLE MEANS TO ACHIEVE THIS AT PRESENT. FRANCE
WANTS TO TAKE PART IN ANY FINAL SETTLEMENT AND INTER-
NATIONAL GUARANTEES BECAUSE GOF FINDS IT EXTREMELY DIF-
FICULT PSYCHOLOGICALLY TO ACCEPT EXCLUSION FROM AN EXER-
CISE THAT AFFECTS ITS VITAL INTERESTS. GOF DESCRIPTION
OF ITS OWN POTENTIAL ROLE, HOWEVER, IS LIMITED TO EXPRES-
SION OF DESIRE TO BE HELPFUL.

TALKING POINTS:

-- EXPLAIN CURRENT NEGOTIATING SITUATION.

-- DESCRIBE HOW GISCARD MIGHT SUPPORT U.S.
PEACE-MAKING EFFORTS.

E. FAR EAST

BACKGROUND: THE GOF IS NOW TRYING TO INGRATI-
ATE ITSELF WITH THE NEW REGIME IN SVN, BUT IS NOW MUCH
COOLER ABOUT CAMBODIA. GISCARD WILL BE INTERESTED IN
OUR VIEW OF THE EVOLUTION IN INDOCHINA WHERE EXTENSIVE
FRENCH BUSINESS INTERESTS SIT FULLY EXPOSED TO COMMUNIST
TAKEOVER. PRC DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TENG HSIAO-P'ING
VISITED FRANCE MAY 12-17 AND HAD SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS
WITH GISCARD. THEY DISCUSSED VARIOUS WORLD PROBLEMS AND
GISCARD SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THEY OFTEN STARTED FROM DIF-
FERENT PREMISES, THEY ARRIVED AT THE SAME CONCLUSIONS.

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-- THANK GISCARD FOR PERSONAL INTEREST HE TOOK IN
EFFORTS TO REDUCE HUMAN SUFFERING CONNECTED WITH
TRANSITION TO COMMUNIST RULE IN SOUTH VIETNAM,

FOR LIBERAL FRENCH POLICY TOWARD VIETNAMESE
REFUGEES, AND FOR AGREEING TO REPRESENT U.S.
INTERESTS IN SAIGON.

-- DRAW GISCARD OUT ON WHAT TENG MAY HAVE INDICATED
ABOUT PRC'S ATTITUDE TOWARD WORLD DEVELOPMENTS,
PARTICULARLY CHANGES IN THE FOUR-POWER EQUILIBR-
IUM IN ASIA, AND PROBLEMS FACING SOUTH KOREA AND
EUROPE IN THE CONTEXT OF PRC PROBLEMS WITH THE
USSR.

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